

FREEDOM— MY DESTINY

By
Y. G. KRISHNAMURTI

Foreword by
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FOREWORD

I HAVE much pleasure in introducing another of Shri Y. G. Krishnamurti's scintillating book—Freedom—My Destiny. As he says 'freedom is an eternal idea and all excellences are born of it'. And yet the concept of freedom is not free from confusion. We have to disentangle it from the cobwebs of confused thought and consequent confounding action. Freedom is and must once again be made an attribute of the growth of man and society. No organisation—political or social—howsoever meticulously just and pompously practical, can avail, if it ignores man as man, man as an individual—man with a personality of his own, and bases itself on groups. The tendency to apotheosise the Nation or the State and to subordinate the individual to it is, in the long run, if not from beginning to end, destructive of the very concept of freedom. It is a delusion to think that a group can

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be morally and spiritually something better than the individuals that compose it. Indeed the group can possess only the least common measure of goodness that is in the individuals composing it and cannot claim to possess the greatest goodness that may be possessed by any of its individuals. The Nation or the State has therefore no moral justification for suppressing the individual.

Freedom from fear and freedom from want have a wider significance and a deeper meaning than the authors of the Atlantic Charter contemplated. Freedom from fear cannot be attained so long as states or combinations of states continue to pin their faith in armaments. Violence cannot destroy violence ; it can but suppress it for a time, to come out with a redoubled fury at a later date. Freedom from want is similarly unattainable by increasing wants, by supplying larger and ampler resources for meeting such ever-expanding wants. It is idle to hope that fire can be put out by feeding it with fat. Freedom from fear must not therefore be dependent on pressure from without but must grow from within. Freedom insured by the atom bomb is no freedom at all but slavery of the worst type. Freedom must grow in the individual. That individual alone is truly free from fear who with-

out any external means of defence can defy the tyrant, defy the whole world—indeed defy death itself. That man alone can be truly free from fear of want who has conquered wants, who indeed has no wants at all. Such freedom from fear and freedom from want cannot grow in regimented social environments. Such freedom has its roots in the individual and grows and prospers only when the individual is free to think, free to reason and free to choose. Totalitarianism in any form or shape and under any garb or label is an enemy of this freedom. What the world needs most to-day is true freedom to be truly free.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

Sadaquat Ashram, Dighaghat, Patna
3rd April, 1946



The author of this book has lifted the question of the freedom of India to a high moral and spiritual plane. He has attempted to prove that India's freedom is necessary for everybody's freedom. Says he : "The heart of India is dedicated to the greatness of the moral spirit, intensity of spiritual energy. It is faith on the grand scale, faith in a moral order, which determines the cosmic meaning of man. Freedom, the whole freedom, and nothing but freedom is the only truth for him."

The world will be again turned into a huge slaughterhouse or fashioned into a mansion of peace. It is only a realisation of the moral content of freedom, which will fashion this world into a mansion of peace. Gandhi and Nehru are the apostles of this new Gospel—the Gospel of a creative peace.—This is what Mr. Krishnamurti has endeavoured to show.

To such a literary production the Foreword could be appropriately written by one who has known the careers of Gandhi and Nehru at close quarters. The publisher considers himself exceedingly lucky in getting a Foreword from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, ex-President of the Indian National Congress, a scholar and author of great repute. The publisher is profoundly indebted to him and feels he cannot thank him adequately.

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BOOK I
THE IDEAL



THE NATURE OF FREEDOM

IN the epic of man the ideal of freedom has always attracted to its service men of genius and courage. It is an ideal which has absorbed artists and baffled reasoners. Tyrants have showered on it their despised feelings. Yet it has a purifying influence on our emotions and judgments.

In its aesthetic level freedom expresses the primary feelings of man. After a thousand perversions and betrayals this ideal emerges with the eternal youth and purity of nature. In its highest moments it utters man's inmost hopes.

In the contemplation of freedom the will of man is not ranged against his vision. This harmony develops a vivid faith in the ideal. Thus

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a sensuous feeling born in taste becomes a judgment. On this philosophical footing, freedom is an eternal idea and all excellences are born of it.

Man is sensitive to freedom; he values it; and, finally, with the aid of this absolute ideal he creates and preserves myriad beautiful things. This ever-present sensation becomes the material of history and the vital sinew of progress. The emotional tone of an epoch is created by man's response to this process. A nation is feeble without the glow of freedom. It reaches the highest pitch of strength when irradiated by it.

In the sphere of politics, therefore, the concept of freedom takes a wider sweep. To develop his capacities, to endow his life with purpose and to make secure the conditions for good living man needs freedom. Politics after politics have repeated this significant theme—freedom.

Freedom is at once an idea, a passion and the destiny. Without it life is sterile and politics is mere ravings. If we accept the history of progress as a moral drama then the law of

The Nature of Freedom

liberty is not only ever active but also prevails. Progress is the expression of a new attitude of will to perceive and pursue ideals.

Without the ideal of liberty a totalitarian state functions. But its citizens are not moral beings. For, their instincts are not conscious of their ends. In this closed state the life of reason is extinct. Its citizenry is moved by social passions but it is denied a life of reflection. Hence, it is dehumanised. According to Prof. Santayana :

“Everyone leads the life of reason in so far as he finds a steady light behind the world’s glitter and a clear residuum of joy behind pleasure or success. No experience not to be repented of falls without its sphere. Every solution to a doubt, in so far as it is not a new error, every practical achievement not neutralised by a second maladjustment consequent upon it, every consolation not the seed of another greater sorrow, may be gathered together and built into this edifice.”

The life of reason is possible when man can

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express a reasoned preference among the forms of living and knowing. Progress in arts, morals and government means reflection modifying impulse. What is absent in the modern state, whether totalitarian or pluto-democratic, is a progress in reason. The apparatus of propaganda and control has turned man into a robot, a maniac.

Reason is as old as the hills and a state enshrining this ideal is non-existent. Freedom becomes a power and a result when man attempts a rational perfection. In his confused experiment of living reason holds up a standard of excellence and a vision of the ever-lasting.

One need not be a little doubtful or apologetic to proclaim that freedom is his religion. In the final analysis, religion is a sense of the supreme truth. A supreme truth is the first to emerge and also the first to reveal every shade of the beautiful. Liberty as a scheme of positive values no doubt guarantees outward opportunities. But liberty as a religious impulse is the source of continual delights.

Chesterton and Wyndham Lewis, in their fugitive essays, have poured veiled insinuations on freedom. Chesterton harps exclusively on gun-man oligarchy :

“Parliaments rule ; and unaudited party funds rule parliaments.”

It is undeniable that it is plutocracies that are wearing the fair mask of democracy. The same parliament by acquiring higher functions can create a controlled society and thereby reduce individual self-seeking.

Wyndham Lewis sadly caricatures the ideal of liberty. He feels it has not range enough to include the thrill and flutter of a delicate way of life. He writes :

“We do seem to be at present compelled not only to find some other word, but also some other thing, than freedom.”

In spite of his engaging nonchalance this remark is deceiving, and often meant to deceive. By parting company with freedom he is only running away from a difficulty that besets civilisation. If one cures his impatient

temper he can open many avenues to that fundamental passion—freedom.

Bernard Shaw's definition of a free man is highly subversive :

“What is a perfectly free person ?

Evidently a person who can do what he likes, when he likes, and where he likes, or do nothing at all if he prefers it.”

This irresponsible freedom will lead to the degradation of taste and the withering up of values.

Freedom is a conception for which men have struggled since the dawn of history. It is always harnessed to the impelling idea of national destiny. As love expands, this national passion becomes a pure universal essence. In iron Caesarisms this concept suffers an undefinable loss.

The conflict between statism and personalism is an ancient one. The encroachment of the modern state has brought to us this clash with more immediacy. Prof. Charles Beard has rightly drawn this lesson from history.

“If there are no individual and

group economic interests possessing a high degree of independence as against the state, despotism will supplant constitutional government and then run its own historic course."

Beard poses a paradox. An unchecked political man means a barren economic man. His observation suggests that restraints on human energy and creativeness will spell the doom of the artistic man, the inventive man and the spiritual man. According to him, politics becomes cleaner and less coercive when it is a reflex of contending economic forces.

The philosophy of freedom not only presents the picture of the dynamic, creative life but also affects the immediate experience of living. Systems which exalt the erotic spell of national pride condemn the people to a fictitious life. A national ideology connotes a party ideology which has its indestructible roots in group selfishness. But there can also exist a party ideology which values the uniqueness of man. By virtue of this quality it can change nationalism into a spiritual principle.

In a totalitarian state the visions and dreams that glow in the hearts of men are messianic self-conceit. There the citizens are not encouraged to search for a new dimension of living. They can talk of the blossoming of national hopes but they cannot dabble in that outlawed universalism.

The enemy of freedom is the money-grabbing, exteriorised, materialist state. It has neither the mental integrity nor the moral self-control to possess a grain of beauty, a grain of freedom. We can see the promise of security in such a state but we must dissect and disentangle freedom.

Briefly then, freedom is an attribute of growth of man and society. In a world of science without wisdom, money without morals and power without inwardness, the slavery of man is reinforced. Man can live and realise the meaning of life on a plane between scientific technics and spiritual awareness. By cutting himself off from the founts of life the contemporary man has inherited a moral vacuum. The present uncertainties, disillusionments and sor-

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rows of men are sufficient to leave one with a measure of unease about the future of freedom.

FREEDOM IN THE ATOMIC AGE

THE advent of the atom bomb has diverted the whole current of human thought. The Copernican System, the Darwinian biology and the Newtonian mechanics ushered in fundamental changes in science. These revolutions in physics affected only the scientific basis of philosophy. But the atomic weapons have forced the social and political processes to move in the direction of control.

The atom bomb has made the harvest of victory a disappointing harvest. That is to say, it has awakened diplomats to the fact that they must reclothe the concept of peace in a vital raiment. The place of the single concept power-politics is now taken by the single phenomenon, the atom bomb.

Freedom in the Atomic Age

The atomic age will either herald the end of wars or the beginning of a new tyranny. In either case the historical process will not halt in a deadlock. It will either proceed to fresh totalitarian control or to new democratic paths. This evolving consciousness will only lead to a non-national movement.

Each age has its ideological concepts. The atomic age can and will produce super-men, super-realism and super-state. The phase and manner of the transition to this heightened awareness and life remain still open to speculation.

H. G. Wells has expressed the truth of the matter very neatly :

"Our universe is not only bankrupt; there remains no dividend at all ; it has not simply liquidated ; it is going clean out of existence, leaving not a wrack behind. The attempt to trace a pattern of any sort is absolutely futile."

This prophecy is gloomy and terrifying. In his view, the human species is dangerously out of harmony with its new environment. He

finds a constructive drive for an orderly civilisation in mental adjustment ; collectivist control and creative outlet. According to Wells, the spirit of science can create the pattern of things to come. However, he ignores the fact that the problems of meaning and value lie outside the pale of science.

Hawthorne has not distorted reality when he writes :

“Vengeance and beneficence are things that God claims for Himself. His instruments have no consciousness of His purpose ; if they imagine they have, it is a pretty sure token that they are not His instruments. The good of others, like our own happiness, is not to be attained by direct effort, but incidentally. All history and observation confirm this.”

The historical process is inevitable but it is not always rational. Therefore our attitude to the coming trends of world history should be compounded half of truth and half of scepticism.

Freedom in the Atomic Age

Most of us have a frank impulsive affection for the democratic process. While assessing the dynamism of political issues we lay stress on the naked sinew of democracy. We should not forget that democracy is not the only form of political existence. The totalitarian technique has also become a universal movement. Already there are clenched minds over a sixth of the earth's surface.

We think of cultural, economic and administrative inter-locking between nations and we expect that the synthesis produced is a universal order. The new order may be either totalitarian or non-totalitarian but it will certainly be a world of control.

The parlour communists are playing with abstractions. Of their obsession with a world communist revolution, there can be no doubt. The soul of Machiavelli has indeed flown beyond the Alps. The neo-Machiavellians are the reincarnations of that sinister philosopher. The Russian leaders are betraying at every step a fascination for Machiavellian doctrines and methods.

Communism is utterly and unmixedly a

blight. It is the enthronement of one interest on a vacuum of ideas. Russia could have been the most daring and inspired pioneer of a universal order if its policy were not based on the threat and application of force.

The problem of the new order is essentially a problem of political ethics. An ethically bankrupt ideology cannot create a universal political civilisation. It can only claim national loyalty and have a particularist flavour. It is moonshine to expect a state based on monopoly force to get rid of the feeling of isolation and insecurity. Hence, authoritarianism can never make straight the paths for peace.

The pluto-democracies are not cured of their power-mania. Their feudal habits and their power-plans in Asia are horribly vivid. Prof Nicholas Doman rightly observes :

"What we need is a magnetic core around which to align mankind. The politically organised world community will subsist with a whole gamut of non-universal political moralities if there is no supernational morality to co-ordinate

Freedom in the Atomic Age

political aspirations. The democratic universal order must have something more than just some sort of a morality ; its pre-requisite is a concrete super-national morality to be nursed by political formalism as well as by an appropriate institutional and functional frame-work."

We see how the democratic statesmen become bitter and waspish when they talk on colonial freedom. By guaranteeing individual human rights and national independence they could have erected a world political structure. But they are making an approach to the realities of the post-war world in a totalitarian spirit. They have met the dilemma of reconciling freedom and authority by ignoring freedom.

The total war is over but a global reaction has set in. The pre-war world was an evil world. But the knife of the reaction is probing deeper than the evil. It is cutting away the healthy tissues of freedom, economic justice and peace.

A UNIVERSAL ORDER & UNIVERSAL MORALITY

THE refuge for human thought can be found in a vivid realisation of a universal order grounded on freedom. A foundation for this type of life can be seen beneath the present changes and beyond the nation-state.

On the stage of history nationalism is no doubt the strongest force. Only by sublimating this emotion man can put an end to vulgar imperialisms and violent totalitarianisms. To hew the path for definitive peace means to raise the standards of humanity higher than ever.

The ideology of the nation-state as the ultimate political unit is now under attack. On the plane of power, it is sapped by the joint controls established under the exigencies of war. In the words of Prof. E. H. Carr, the pre-

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sent war has questioned "the moral credentials of nationalism." As a historical group the claims and validity of the modern nation cannot be ignored. But the upshot of this war is that the claim of the nation-state as the ultimate constituent unit of a world organisation is being challenged. The world community should neither be a union of member states nor a conclave of rulers but a society of peoples, wherein the individual rights and opportunities are guaranteed. For, there are free nations which have maimed and depersonalised its citizenry. Says Prof. Carr :

"The driving force behind any future international order must be a belief, however expressed, in the value of individual human beings irrespective of national affinities or allegiance and in a common and mutual obligation to promote their well-being."

The end of history is the liberation of man from the lure of a regimented and objectivised world order. The consolidation of this world is brought about only when the creative power of

man is released. It is setting consciousness free from patriotic snobbery and developing true humanity.

Prof. Carlton Hayes observes :

“Nationalism is either ignorant and prejudiced or inhuman and jaundiced ; in both cases it is a form of mania, a kind of extended and exaggerated egotism, and it has easily recognisable symptoms of selfishness, intolerance and jingoism, indicative of the delusions of grandeur from which it suffers.”

We can see two strains in modern nationalisms. One strain has lost itself in the worship of brute strength, cynicism and irrationalism. The other strain seeks the heroism of truth, love and service. A white-hot passion of these elements is true patriotism. This uncovering of the secret of patriotism is of value not to the nation alone, but to all mankind.

If the modern nations are found in the abyss of pain it is because their vision and love are destroyed by howling fear and ethical blindness. There is no universal order outside the

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pale of universal morality. A poised centre for world life can be found not in federal blue-prints but in balanced personalities.

The basis of renewal is not the atom bomb and social techniques but the human heart. If the new emotions cannot touch the hearts of men then they cannot understand them. A science which mocks at human values and a machine-culture which deliberately perverts discernment and criticism cannot reconstruct our institutions and personality.

A new way of life means a renewal of personality and community. This transfiguration takes place as the human caravan moves along the way to the achievement of liberty and personality. It is victory over death, victory over time. For, freedom is timelessly human and it is endurable because it is eternal.

In nature and history the servitude of man disappears, but his personality remains. Writes Nicolas Berdyaev :

“The slavery of man is his fall, his sin. This fall has its own structure of consciousness. It is conquered not only

by repentance and redemption from sin, but by the activity of all the creative powers of man."

He points out that man can achieve his liberation and illumination and fulfil the covenants of love and charity. He can achieve this poised integration by suffering. And so with nations. Without the pungent stimulus of another war they cannot obtain their ends : moral idealism and purified patriotism.

When freedom becomes a life-theme, persecution fuses a people together and summons their heroic energies. In the face of imperialist bluff and bullying they pursue the ideal of freedom with the charity of a saint and the vision of an artist. They know that existence is not life. When freedom illumines existence, it becomes life. Let us then cherish the words of Croce :

"Liberty is a divine gift, and the Gods sometimes take it away from men, who are eternal children, and do not give it back until they have once become worthy of it."

FREEDOM & SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM

DESTINY will confer its
those who orient and
selves. Man can move in
crisis by supplanting despair
unity by absolute oneness.
present convulsion as an evolution
we should relate existing
trends. No life-plan can give
significant life until the moral
individual is developed. Nor
pute the fact that a revolution
must relate itself to a new pattern

Without very deep burial
for the social planner to find

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the dialectical strife. It is rather puzzling to see that the contemporary man gives the same temperamental allegiance to love of truth and the economy of truth, to an irrefragable faith and a broad scepticism. So long as he maintains contrary and opposed attitudes, he can neither attempt intellectual revisions nor come into valid contact with reality.

This inner dividedness is totally destructive of the personality of the modern. If his mind has grown up in a distorted form, it is because of the lack of inner coherence. Several thinkers are attempting to fuse together the divided components of his split vision and split personality.

Dr. Graham Howe is a man of philosophic capacity. He leaves his readers despairing of reconciling the profound "I" with the harassed "me". Lewis Munford is a typical exponent of post-war evasiveness. He puts forward a dialectically ingenious plea that the individual has a statistical significance whereas personality is in dynamic interaction with environment and heritage. Herbert Read is one of the mental influences of the present age. He expressly says that a com-

mon manhood is created when national disguises are thrown off.

Dr. Christopher Dawson expresses the difference between a progressive society and a static regime in one phrase : the power of spirit. He warns that any attempt to organise the world by economic power divorced from spiritual vision would give rise to a new destructive revolt. He sees in Christocracy a principle of spiritual order, a seed of unity and the only worthy sanctions of life. Either we should accept a true vision of the world presented by Christian social ethics or surrender ourselves to demoniac totalitarian power.

Middleton Murray contends that man has a temptation, a great and ubiquitous temptation, to relapse into inertia. This calls for the organisation of his consciousness. Without a common loyalty to certain fundamental Christian values, it is impossible to remedy social injustice and correct social inertia.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr is a baffled searcher after a scale of personal values. He shows how a moral ideal is progressively weakened as it is

applied to collective human relations. If nations lose the ultimate values of mutuality it is because group-interest is more passionately defended than the total interests of mankind. He maintains that the two strategists who design to bring the strongest inner and the most effective social restraint upon selfishness, egoistic impulse and violence cannot be harmonised.

Dr. Schweitzer finds a meaning in the universe in an affirmative attitude towards life. He urges that we should co-operate with God in bringing about the greatest possible perfection of the world. His philosophy, sensitive to all aspects of life, is but a sublimation of his pure love, kindness and suffering. Dr. Kraus observes that our lifecycle is a non-self-sustaining link in the infinite process. Therefore, true ethical optimism must aim at an endless process of enhancement of values. Only when the continuation of life is guaranteed to the soul, is that higher evolution, assured.

Prof. Schumpeter predicts a new economic situation, social atmosphere and distribution of political power. Fundamental reconstructions

Freedom & Scientific Humanism

will be implemented by huge bureaucracies. The one political configuration that is predictable is socialism. In his view, this socialist civilisation is much more likely to present fascist features. It would be a strange answer to Marx's prayer. He says that history is a laughing philosopher who sometimes indulges in jokes of questionable taste.

All the thinkers emphasise one of these two poles of existence ; mechanistic thinking or defence of values ; expansion or equilibrium ; personal element or communal truth. However, a number of facile intellectuals instead of attacking the political time-serving of the scientist attack the idea of scientific progress. Their moralizing is conditioned by this prejudice. They ignore the inevitable association between philosophy which gives interior vitalisation and physics which ensures subjective well-being. Then we should not be misled by dialectical sharp practice regarding science and soul-reality.

Niels Bohr writes :

“The deepest foundation of science is the abiding impulse in every human being to see order and harmony behind

the manifold and the changing in the existing world."

Alexander Humboldt urges that a knowledge of the mutual connection of phenomena should be linked to the charm of a simple contemplation of nature. Prof. Haldane has forced the truth to the front that science gives not only fresh wealth but also fresh beauty.

The new society must be a self-conscious society, unified and functionally specialised. The social and cultural mechanisms needed for this advance are there but they are put in the service of false creeds. No doubt, a regimented society based on compulsion can be easily evolved but it is not effective in the long run. As a society rests upon a stable tradition, for this reason it is at once precarious and secure. It is precarious when it distrusts values to the point of scepticism. It is secure when it rediscovers the value of tradition and experiment. A society might as well abandon the pursuit of harmony and progress if it cannot sharpen the individual's appreciation of values. The first need is to recognise that, in this dissolving world, a free and self-conscious society can-

not exist without social integration. But for this a new instrument and a new will must be forged. Writes Dr. Karl Mannheim :

“At the present stage of events we need a new kind of foresight, a new technique for managing conflicts, together with a psychology, morality and plan of action in many ways completely different from those that have obtained in the past.”

There is a belief which seldom finds a place in political manifestoes and has accelerated progress. It is sustained by a stern tradition and is pacific in technique and progressive in outlook. The progress from sub-microscopic life to conscious man is a progress in this belief. This belief which extends the given cure of change is humanism.

Alongside the present disturbance of beliefs a new doctrine of scientific humanism is taking shape. It is a new attack on the old certitudes. It provides an enduring framework to the illumination of new knowledge and the fresh conquests of science. While accepting the incom-

pleteness of man, it persuades him to trim the lamps of love, liberty and tolerance.

The humanist pays homage to the beauty of the universe, the dignity of man and the marvels of science. Julian Huxley states the significance of humanism as follows :

“No longer can we set matter against life ; or life against mind ; or mind against spirit, as two essentially different realms. The time is beginning to ripen in which we can attempt to recover a greater elasticity of our framework by going back to the beginning, to the nature of things and the nature of man as seen in the light of new knowledge, and by building up our scheme anew.”

Only in a humanist order the scientist steers his course by the star of truth, the moralist sheds his cowardice and complacency and the individual wins freedom and gives it universal validity. The humanist is the integral man, who lives by the light of verified truth and mystical experience.

Prof. Catlin rightly observes :

"Culture is the expression of the essence of freedom, if not its necessary groundwork. If economic freedom is for the sake of living, cultural freedom is for the sake of good-living. It is the trait in terms of which humanity is human. Science as knowledge is part of that freedom ; science as experiment is part of that creative freedom."

Prof. Catlin always drops his depth charges and thus understands the nature of politics. He sees man as a bad gorilla trying to conquer the stars. He sees this forked adventurer trying to bind himself with new chains of vandalism. With an emotional directness he says that our neglected task is that of the subordination of science to the living spirit of civilization.

Today the stem of science in the richer bloom has become less strong. The reason is that science and power have ceased to serve. Like penicillin, the techniques could have been harnessed to the international ends of culture. Instead they have become the core of humanity's troubles. Prof. Catlin warns :

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“At this end of the second thousand years we shall see, as St. Augustine saw, power completing its course in total concentration as power—power, human and mechanical, means as their own ends.”

It is clear that the world trends are moving towards a neo-imperialism. The sickle will replace Swastika and in the end the banner of truth will be planted on the wreckage of power-poison. It is time we should be reminded :

“Let us yet, as humanists, never relax in fostering the active spirit of reason, the reconciling spirit of the contemplative and quiet mind which holds the equitable balance of historic justice. We cannot resist the Nemesis of evil, as it works itself out in the thunder and whirlwind. But we can understand, mirror-like, the cause of the storm, the dialectic in this history, and hear the still voice of creative reason.”

In size, strength, courage, melody, cooperativeness and endurance man cannot equal the el-

elephant, whale, lion, cuckoo, ant and mule. But he can beat them all in his sense of beauty and of values. It is in his sense of freedom that man stands unique. If the star of freedom is under an eclipse it is because the values are misplaced. In systems which proclaim herd loyalty as superior to the free exercise of reason man is turned into a brute. Man can live without his refrigerators and dog-racing but bereft of his reason and freedom he becomes dehumanised. Prof. Joad rightly observes that in an economically unitary world which is at a loss how to get rid of its surplus products the man with "a green thought in a green shade" is a target for opprobrium.

Mankind is now in process of mortification, limb by limb. It can still renew itself by touching the spring of truth.

Man is sometimes impish, occasionally perverse and seldom human. He can grasp the permanent values which govern human life when he rejects false promises and false premises.

CREATIVE FREEDOM

FREEDOM is composed of nuances of feeling and thought which escape through the iron bands of logic. It lives in the stream of consciousness and foams or runs thin with that flow. A people who are denied this magic and wonder feel life as something sterile and inadequate.

Freedom is creative and it is crucified in systems which imposes rigidities on life and history. Prof. Bergson expressly says that change means growth, growth means creation, creation means freedom. Freedom is ultimately real and it is not bound by the fixities of space and of habit.

Without the conviction that the propulsive life is a free life, existence becomes a monstrous mockery. The sweet influence of creativeness

is not felt in a totalitarian state. There, awareness is damned to the deepest hell. Awareness is the sense of choice and therefore the cause of arts, of beauty and of the spirit of civilization.

In a closed state life is not experienced as freedom. Its pure mechanism in morals and life cannot open up new perspectives. Regimentation is the arch-enemy of the creative impulse. The unattained heights are suggested by intuition and not by fixed goals. Writes Bergson :

“The universe is a machine for the making of God.”

Then man should turn aside from necessity and take the road of freedom. *Elan vital* is not high-hearted romanticism. It is a living memory, a spell, the evocation of a better life. It is “a winged charge of the squadrons of the spirit.” When every individual proclaims the hunger for an experience and freedom beckons in every tree, man can really be with and in the supreme spirit.

Civilization is the product of the harmony established between conflicting vital pulsations. It is the co-ordination of chaotic finalisms. When conflict gives way to harmony the biological fina-

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lisms unite in a larger group life. Dr. Schweitzer has urged upon his generation the belief that civilization is the lessening of the struggle for existence. It is the essence of his philosophy that the western man has depleted his ethical energies and is now utterly blinded and frustrated. It is equally true of him that his thought has failed to keep control over facts. The result is he has lost his humanity and the power of response. Furthermore, individual ethics are sacrificed for community ethics. Thus he lost his independent thought, faith in truth, moral judgment and participated in all that is base, cynical and unjust.

The contemporary man listened to petty simpletons and despised men of ethical genius. He readily accepted ideological blinkers and lost the deeper sources of insight into life. He must rediscover himself in a new thought, a lovely blending of selfless devotion with imaginative sweep. Dr. Schweitzer warns mankind against avoiding responsibility for spiritual decision. He expressly says that the annihilation of man would be complete if he fails to gain supremacy over external nature and human nature. Then he should

transfer his loyalties from the lucky muddlers to the far-seeing in purpose.

The two ideas that can develop the human element in life and bring healing to the peoples of the world are world-view (*Weltanschauung*) and reverence for life. Civilization can again rise to new power from the ethical will of the masses. The stream of civilization will not be poisoned and its flow and fullness will be preserved by an optimistic world-view.

Prof. Schweitzer has an abiding tendency to think of civilization in terms of world-view. He ascribes a two-fold function to ethics : the moral perfecting of individual and community life. An interaction of ethics with a life-affirming outlook produces civilization.

The error into which many thinkers have fallen is that they interpret man's life in terms of the universe instead of in terms of life :

"Working purposefully ourselves toward certain ends, we assume that the Creative force in the world is doing likewise. Yet, when we try to define its goal we cannot do so. There is no co-

ordinated definite end to be observed, even though we think that there should be. We like to imagine that man is nature's goal, but facts do not support that belief."

The basic principles he sets up are : There is striving after perfection even in a blade of grass. This striving is determined by ideals. The essential nature of the will-to-live is a resolve to live to the full and the perfect. Man is a manifestation of the universal-will-to-live. He should attain to the quiet strength of truth and give his actions a purpose which is ethically satisfying.

World-View and reverence for life have a habit of surviving conflicts. World-View did not perish when the dictators led their peoples into fanatic blind alleys. Reverence for life did not die when Hiroshima was atomised into an open grave. These concepts press against the portals of our consciousness and are soon admitted into the threshold. In these impulses the past lives in us and pushes us into new moments of history.

It is true that our personality grows without ceasing but it should be aided in its growth

by absorbed insights and true compassion. These ideas persist in the endless flow of time. Without a background of these values, the charm of freedom fades and it becomes a onetime favourite.

A PATTERN OF FREEDOM

THE constitutional pattern has a definite value in solving the fundamental issues of free life. Historical experience shows that only the federal pattern can satisfy the demands arising from variety in political and sociological outlook. Not merely in form but in spirit, federalism offers the minimum of oppression and the maximum of cohesion.

A centralised absolutist power has outgrown the needs of our time. The strongest political impulse now is toward the multi-national state. Every multi-national union can forge a certain unity among the small warring states which would otherwise lose their national independence.

The day of acceptance of this political truth

has approached and a thought which transcends national egoism has taken possession of our minds. It provides a cure not only to the distempers of our age but also an adventure for the murderous nation-states.

The multi-national experiment has two aspects : it promises regional self-government ; it also cherishes the idea of centralism. It tolerates cultural differentiation but values administrative and economic inter-locking. Thus, it is a necessary and inevitable compromise between the forces of devolution and centralism.

The conception of coming politics as the product of multi-national civilisations is discredited by some continental theorists. Triepel argues that federalism is a *forma mixta* between the forces of centralisation and decentralisation. According to him, a state can be either centralist or particularist but never federal. The German right-wingers expressly say that federalism destroys the group symbol. Autonomy means control over the armed forces and the federal form denies this basic right to the member-states.

To exalt the historic interests of a people and

not the interests of the human family is to prowl in the low places of thought. Sydel contends that sovereignty is an essential attribute of the state. Waitz takes the state idea a step beyond Sydel when he says that sovereignty might be divided in its extent. Laband goes a step beyond Waitz in denying sovereignty as an essential characteristic of the state. He defines the state as a political person exercising an authority and will of its own in the exercise of its power : "master toward the bottom and subject toward the top "

The purely legalist approach to sovereignty is made by Jellinek. It is "an ability to determine for itself the legal limits of its powers". It is a right of self-organisation. When a state enters the federal bond it loses its state character in the spheres surrendered to federal competence. But it gains in statehood by sharing in the total sovereign powers of the federation.

Gierke sees the true nature of the problem. He develops the idea that the state is a corporation with an autonomous reality. But it is the highest and the most inclusive corporation. It is "self-determined, and becomes its own regu-

lating force.”

Carl Schmitt prefers the word *Bund* to federation. He says both the *Bund* and member-states can make sovereign claims and grants the right of secession to the units. The *Bund* is a nationally homogeneous union.

The modern conception of the states is that there is a relation between the degree of autonomy and social needs. Political life means compromises. Sovereignty is the legal freedom of the state and it is not opposed to self-restriction of that freedom.

Kelsen defines the state as a system of norms. It recognises no superior norm outside that system. In a federal state the units enjoy only autonomy. The acceptance of a superior international norm means the end of the sovereign state. However, Kelsen's pure legalistic view ignores the historical and sociological foundations of the modern state.

A revaluation of the theory of state shows that it has three attributes : coercive power, autonomy and territory. With these characteristics a state can be a potential member of a multi-nation-

al union. The retention of residuary powers and the evolution of new state functions add to the theoretical power of the state.

Our age is witnessing a universal political revolution. Looked at from the historical standpoint the scotching of Fascism and Imperialism is a phase of this revolution. The contemporary society has not yet assimilated the integration tendencies released by the war. The ideal of the revolution, which aims at political freedom and economic stability, will soon find a substance. The sentiment of nationality and the power-plans of the victor states will reveal their most dangerous features. They may take the forms of national imperialisms and racial megalomania.

The ideal interests of mankind cannot herald themselves in a political theory and technique which is based on the principle of absolutism. The new political thought must point the way to a pluralistic political organisation. A solution for the essential problems of our age must therefore be sought in a multi-national state, which distributes widely political powers and functions and is based on the highest possible utility. This

principle dissociates the political nation from the cultural nation. It enshrines a fair promise of a pluralistic order : " things are with one another in many ways ; but nothing includes everything nor dominates over everything."

The doctrine of " oneness in manyness " is opposed to the theory of monism which believes in one vast co-implicated completeness. It is an opposition between the each-form and the all-form. The ethical appeal and the political excellence of pluralism are vividly presented by Otto von Gierke. By insisting that the state theory should be independent of the idea of sovereignty Gierke has visualised statehood of a nobler type and a politics of a more ideal loyalties.

In a pluralistic federal order freedom radiates from bottom upwards, from within outwards. It becomes an ideal conceived in concord and a spirit worshipped in mutuality. It becomes a sensible experience to the narrow, slogan-fed, particularist. It will prove that freedom and federalism are stable relations.

The ideal to which all our moral and physical forces are canalised is a Supra-National In-

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dian Union. Those who talk of atomism in politics have debauched their political sense. Particularism is no doubt an alluring symbol. It attracts the energies of a people into its vortex. But it is not an inspiring thought, an ultimate substance.

Indian patriotism envisages freedom imbedded in a larger pattern which embraces world life. The passions, the influence and the history which our freedom unfolds are precious to us and significant to the enviroing world. Our freedom-movement is a part of the universal flux and we are members of a universal society. Therefore, our freedom introduces something deeper than stability and something higher than nationalism into world life. It provides a firm basis and creates the mental climate for truth and felicity. Nehru has declared that our freedom would not be barren and graceless but would translate our existence into universal terms.



"... our freedom would
not be barren and grace-
less ..."

PATH TO FREEDOM

THE method of winning freedom is not less important than the urgency of winning it. Theorists and politicians are divided in their judgments about the strategy of freedom. One school of thinkers insists on moral weapons. The other school recommends the tools of violence.

It is urged that moral idealism is a deception. The development of the moral resources in a community might qualify its social outlook. Tender sentiments might shoot and grow within the social framework. Nevertheless, violent revolutions are so basic to the history of culture that they are potent instruments of change.

The privileged groups always identify

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moral excellences with peaceful change. The harmony they seek is an equilibrium based on injustice. They hate violence and coercion as they aim at a thorough destruction of privilege. They belaud without reserve when the government employs the same instruments in defence of privilege. Only a quixote can attribute good faith to the reasoning of rational calculation and patience.

Through the echoing corridors of history the question is heard whether we should salute one who is travelling in truth or one who identifies justice with force? In our own times a child of the Gandhian renaissance has moral affinities. An alien voice, the voice of a neo-Marxist, challenges the validity of moral aspirations.

An intelligent observer of political life will find that incendiary doctrines and incendiary blondes can fan revolutions and plume in anarchy. Out of this rebellious heroism is born moral cynicism and a blood-imbrued dictator.

The question which confronts mankind is, how to throw off the coils of tyranny and cure

social injustice, without running the risk of new tyrannies and new maladjustments. Can redemption come after catastrophe or by avoiding it? Is non-violence a religious overbelief or a valid philosophy of change?

For those, who believe in the inevitability of revolution and the absolute validity of violence progress means advance which may even threaten survival. For those who have seen the disillusioning results of revolutions progress means the ethical perfecting of the individual and community life.

Both the revolutionist and the ethical idealist accept political and social justice as the goal. But the moralist contends that the meaning of the goal is threatened by the choice of instruments. The revolutionist retorts that by correcting the maladjustments violence becomes a moral action, true wisdom. For, the test of a moral action is "the harmony of all vital capacities". Thus, we are presented with a basic ethical paradox.

The Gandhian faith affirms that the law of love and truth-force as political standards ex-

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press the final perfection of man in history. This perfection is the outcome of historical tragedy, of sacrificial love. The highest good of history is achieved through acts which transcend history. For this reason non-violence and truth are the symbols of the highest historical norms. The paths of truth and love are human and yet transcend the human. As they have an unconditional character, they are the surest redemptive ways. By bridging the chasm between the historical and the eternal they make the structures of history meaningful and majestic.

Gandhi is acutely sensitive to the growing decay of ideals and this problem is not European but universal. The shadows of militarism have not obliterated hope in his heart. In fact the advent of the atom bomb has marked the triumph of his ideology. He hates violence in itself and denounces it among his own people. Not unnaturally, in a period of crude urges and hasty judgments, he is accused of lacking revolutionary virtues.

The hour has come for the transference of his spiritual impulses from the national to the world plane. The idea of ethicizing politics is developed and fixed by Gandhi over the historical pattern. Through his achievement politics has gained in substance and in dignity. This man of singular simplicity, of virginal goodness, of unconscious contradictions, of experiment and adventuring has given mankind a new outlook and a new philosophy. They present to our wondering regard, truth exalted by love and love chastened by truth. He retains the secret of an ethic which mankind has almost lost.

The world is no doubt disintegrating but we must develop the courage to accept the challenge. We need a faith which strikes fire from life's tinder. Here is the confident message of Dr. Schweitzer, the best advocate of civilization:

“For there must indeed arise a philosophy profound and more living than our own and endowed with greater spiritual and ethical force. In this terrible period through which mankind is pass-

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ing, from the East and from the West, we must all keep a look-out for the coming of this more perfect and more powerful form of thought which will conquer the hearts of individuals and compel peoples to acknowledge its sway. It is for this that we must strive."

FREEDOM AND DESTINY

TODAY we are witnessing the emergence of the Indian masses into the realm of freedom, of history and of selfhood. This upsurge is the revolt of the masses and our culture itself is reborn in its flames.

2. The Indian masses carry at heart an image and a dream. The mark of Gandhi or Nehru is upon all hearts. Just as one craves for a scent or a taste, so they crave for the spiritual exaltation—freedom. They have found in Gandhi or Nehru an anchor for their feelings and in their ideology an adequate instrument to the spirit of their dream. The result is their fullest development in a definite political pattern which pursues and attains the end ; freedom through non-violence.

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3. We must distinguish clearly between the people and the masses. The people is a collection of individuals, the moment incarnate. The masses are a collective personality enshrining the unspoken secret of the future. It is perhaps true to say that while the masses sustain the political ideal, the people is dimly conscious of it. The masses have deep feelings, a sense of sacredness and a capacity to suffer. The people cheat about these things. The masses have a qualitative value whereas the people has clumsy limitations. The people is individualist and therefore a slave of himself. The masses are personalists and seek to realise the possibilities of life.

4. The Indian people have shown a readiness to submission, but the Indian masses are irrupting against the three enslaving forces—tyranny, matter and necessity. They see the greatest mystery of human existence, of historical life in Gandhism. This mighty feeling has gripped their soul and chastened their crude forces.

5. The Gandhian Revolution is a deter-

mined journey of the heart in pursuit of truth, tolerance and liberty. Its adherents can understand the universal emotions while remaining Indian. The beauty of this Revolution is lost on those who have contracted the Marxian hay-fever.

6. It is only a subsidised Polonius who sweats and schemes against the Gandhian faith. His insufferable posturing and prejudiced gusto are born of a hatred of the eternal truths of life, whether spiritual or revolutionary. Such a pseudo-Radical can only hoodwink his fellow waverers who are chiefly clever eighth standard boys and petulant clerks. It is only the emotionally abnormal types that bestow the name Radical on such a Degeneration.

7. None has thus far made a measured and intelligent attack on the ideology or strategy of Gandhi. It is perverse to attack his thought and technique as they rest on a background of Indian culture. And Indian culture is fashioned by the spirit if western civilisation is shaped by the tool.

8. A part of our national misfortune is

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caused by those whose political tactics and phobias have vitiated the great truths of love for the dear land and the will to reject the lure of slavery. We can be the masters of our own destiny when we are masters of our own land. For, when a nation is in fetters, its arts, its knowledge and its culture are in fetters.

9. It is truth-force that will liberate us and our liberation will lead us to an ethical and optimistic life, which has not yet come into the world. The central emotion of the liberated Indian masses will be not revenge, but spiritual paternity.

10. India is aware of her destiny—to move towards more inclusive ends in life and history. An Indian will seek the meaning of life not only in personalist patterns but also in universal configurations. To him, the abiding significance of personalist life rests on its relation to the historical process.

11. This historical construction of life plan is the product of a tension between the richness of nature and the fulfilment of man. In all his dreams and struggles the individual aspires

to touch the horizon of the eternal. Therefore, an Indian confidently proclaims that the universe has a purpose, an end. He also sees an inner thread of unity and meaning running beneath successive civilisations. The feeling will not lapse merely into the sentimental when he asserts that the dimensions of freedom transcend all limitations of space and time.

12. The balance of intelligence hereafter will be on the side of harmony and not conflict. It is important to realise that the techniques have brought the recent mass philosophies of the West into closer juxtaposition. This intimacy has resulted in blood-dripping history. The western diplomats—with their insolent braggadocio and low emotions cannot forge political instruments which can change this new-born intimacy into an acceptable interdependence. The plutocrats yet retain a capacity for a mock-apologetic attitude, a capacity to give us fakes.

13. The total import of the facts that man is a child of nature and that man is a spirit is not grasped by all. Modern civilization has

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obscured the uniqueness of man. It must be observed that to dissuade the war-mongers and racial maniacs from their present mood is difficult. Their cynicism about both man and history has cast an iron frost on life.

14. The doctrine which informs Indian culture is the Vedic view of man. In the Greek view, the conflict between the vitalities of life and the principle of measure is an unresolved one. The Indian view which emphasises the destruction of the pragmatic ego and a submission to the will of God endows its people with a vigour of historical action. What is unique in an Indian is the universal concepts enshrined in his heart. The individual who is egobound can only see the stars of freedom, peace and universality through small windows. Therefore, the essential man is the free man whose self-awareness transmutes his anarchic vitality into a genuine universal emotion.

15. It is in the very essence of Indian culture to regard the universal as possible. It also believes that the good can be hatched only in the general womb of values. Thereby it has attracted

elemental forces to its aid.

16. The Indian soul tries to achieve three things : it defines for itself the good, it stretches out toward this ideal, and it enlarges its aspiration till it embraces this essence. By heartily acknowledging his ideal the Indian confronts his destiny. If the Indian should remain in bondage any longer then creation is a mistake. The time has also come for the universe to add a marvellous episode to its tragic existence by acknowledging, with good grace, the fertility of spirit, and its unrivalled master, Mahatma Gandhi.

17. The present mood of India is marked by radical courage. The youth are ready to travel along the pathless haunts. Their apostles have taught them sublime truths. They are determined to free their soul from the strangling knots of slavery.

18. The vision of the youth is enlarged but the heart is untamed. The I. N. A. trials have given a depth to their feelings. They are stirred by it as by a wind of doctrine. In a single cry *Jai Hind*, they summon their heroic energies and salute their ultimate destiny.

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19. The youth see the alternative between freedom and disillusion. And freedom alone can express their destiny in political dimensions. They also see the splendid vistas of a free India unrolling itself before their eyes. However, their mature conclusion is that no ruling class or people can be trusted.

20. Amid the environing brutalities, unbelief and chaos the youth are bravely reconstructing their life and history on the hill-tops of their moral heritage. The echoes audible to them are from the realm of passion, the realm of martyrdom. Their free mind will soon express itself in social excellence, political concord and moral vastness.

21. The youth have linked their inner life with truth and external activities with freedom. Thus a close relation is established between mental elegance and material opportunities. By keeping their aspiration relevant to their fate they are facing the grim problems of world life. By engaging the resources of their soul they have brought experience and intuition, vitality and rapture within the sweep and power of the spirit.



MAN THE UNIQUE

LET us win our freedom not for ourselves alone, but for all men. The essential man is a freeman and he always chooses the saving road of identification with created life. A man who yearns for truth, for freedom, for God, searches for salvation in cosmic values.

Our culture is not nurtured within closed walls. It has taught us to wage a continual war against the inward forces of slavery, the dark forces of egoism, which make holiness a mask, intellectualism a pointless activity and ideals a slave maker.

Every facet of our culture points to the uniqueness of man. Man can discover the true meaning of life when he regards the universe as an extension of his self. The power of such an

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ethical person lies in wisdom and his wisdom lies in his world-view.

It is the poison of slavery that has narrowed the mind of the contemporary Indian. If he has become simply and entirely, an individualist, it is because he is a slave, a semi-invalid. Yet he can rise to moments of genuine splendour, of new energy. With his mind filled with the echoes of the past he shows an awareness, a compelling vitality. At this heightened moment he sees the vast unfolding of a pattern which includes the past and future sensations. He is now a personalist to whom every act is inescapably real and yet inescapably spiritual. This deep consciousness of the tragedy of a slave existence and its expression in the new tendencies of life and politics is deepened by the Gandhian Revolution.

As worldlings Indians might love individualistic tendencies, the self-affirming emotional elements. This snare breaks up the core of their personality. This loss of the inward centre warps and deflects the vital process. But as Gandhians they can achieve the integrated personality the image of the highest excellence

the unique.

Man the unique, is neither enslaved nor enslaving, but sees freedom everywhere and all the time. The tangled world situation is due to the fact that man is in the grip of an expansionist dream. He is in search of new markets, new strategic bases, new destructive weapons and new serfs. He may live under a democratic form of government but he is a slave to the will-to-power. Uniqueness is impossible unless behind it there is a burning faith in the libertarian ideal and a correspondingly burning hatred for gang-rule. Humanity will be always ailing until man attains inwardness which is strength and extroversion which is an escape from the self to society.

Man is unique when he has freedom of expression, which is an inheritance as well as an instrument. Both in the closed state and the negative democracy there is a potential tyranny of political orthodoxy and the Big Press. In the negative democracy the inheritance of free thought is melting away. In a totalitarian state the instruments of propaganda have turned man into a sport of crude urges. In its framework

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labour is conceived as an end in itself. There uniqueness is killed by mental ostracism, the chaining of the human word. It is only an unfettered mind that can offer to mankind the unceasing investigation of truth. The formation of a mass culture which denies the individual the right to utter and to argue is a false development.

The uniqueness of man is grounded on a scheme of economic values but it is opposed to the dissolution of the self in the economic collective. To shape a community anew in an age of collectivism means to evolve an economically centralised order. In this massive group life and thought personal judgment is smothered by collective emotions. The ownership of the economic instruments by the state is necessary but its economic philosophy should transform the working man into an integral man.

A planned society is created by conscious economic and social decisions. Against the total surrender of the individual to an economic formula what have the planners to set in the balance? Only security. And what is that security? It is the dead-sea fruit of the enslave-



ment of man to the tool. The worker's life is never lifted out of the flux of necessity. The gospel of work no doubt purifies and strengthens man. When chaos beats about the soul the harlot tree of work has no yielding soil to root in.

The mass-moods and the consequent loss of moral sense, conditional reflexes and the deadening of the quick of life have created a process which is an apology for decadence. Without an organic union of politics and religion a planned economic order can neither be creative nor vital. The philosophy of planning is grounded on the subordination of the individual selves to a higher communal truth. The adoption of a scale of personal values can change the regimentation inherent in any planned order into a conscious mutuality. The task is to prevent man from being turned into a mechanism.

The uniqueness of man is the attainment of fellowship by personality, peace by moral initiative. These involve an understanding and a sacrifice. Without them the collective tendencies will abridge the personality of man.

There is nothing more Utopian than a uni-

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versal ordering of life. It can be realised if man's ideology is an affirmation of freedom and his struggle is for the supreme value of personality. When freedom becomes a religion of the heart, man is lifted from the common cares of life and love reigns. We owe this transformation to the labours of unselfish men, the hot blood of the martyrs and the eternal vigil of the nation.

BOOK II
THE PERSONALITY



NEHRU : FREEDOM'S SYMBOL

1

IN this section I have made an attempt to place Nehru's political thought against a general background of movements and ideas. I have considered the structure of his thought and shown the light it sheds upon the problem of personality and freedom.

As our response to freedom has not only political but economic, sociological and ethical implications, I have not isolated any of these aspects from each other. In other words, I have approached the subject organically and not in isolation.

Today we need more than an intellectual understanding of the concept freedom. No doubt, social movements derive their strength and purpose from a background of thought. But a

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thought which preserves the structure of truth and liberty and also becomes a spur to action gives confidence and energy to the community. Properly understood, the doctrine of Nehru not only presents an idealistic view of the historical process, but also gives a test by which we can sound the strength or hollowness of our convictions. In this way, it quickens the pace of inevitable changes.

Nehru can claim with justice that not one of his observations on the currents and counter-currents of history was untrue nor one of the delineations of the mass-mind conjectual. His understanding of the world forces is as exact as his thought is vivid. He disciplines ideas to a given social setting and interprets the social movements ideally.

As the thought and struggle for freedom has dominated his life, I have examined the concept freedom in the light of his personality. Moreover, his political thought warms our emotions by satisfying our reason. He has nerved a nation to dare a forward step, discarding the old props and rediscovering the basic values of per-

sonality. In an age of callous tyrants and satanic forces he has made the issue of freedom the most momentous, the most real.

My views may not be original but they are put in a personal angle. My scholarly equipment may be inadequate but my approach is one of loving fidelity and not of whimsical reflection.

2

The reflective culture of our age makes it inevitable that we should understand the political thinking of a man whose ideas are associated with our national destiny in the most intimate way. He has framed the theoretical structure to our aspirations and also given the supreme place to freedom in his scale of values. He is the one thinker who has shown that moral truths are not inconsistent with socialist realism. He has made us to respect the spontaneous forces of life. If we think that truth is an aid to freedom, it is because he holds that point of view. The open cultivation of the belief to deface and slay serfdom is indeed asserted by him. He has also strengthened our will to win for humanity

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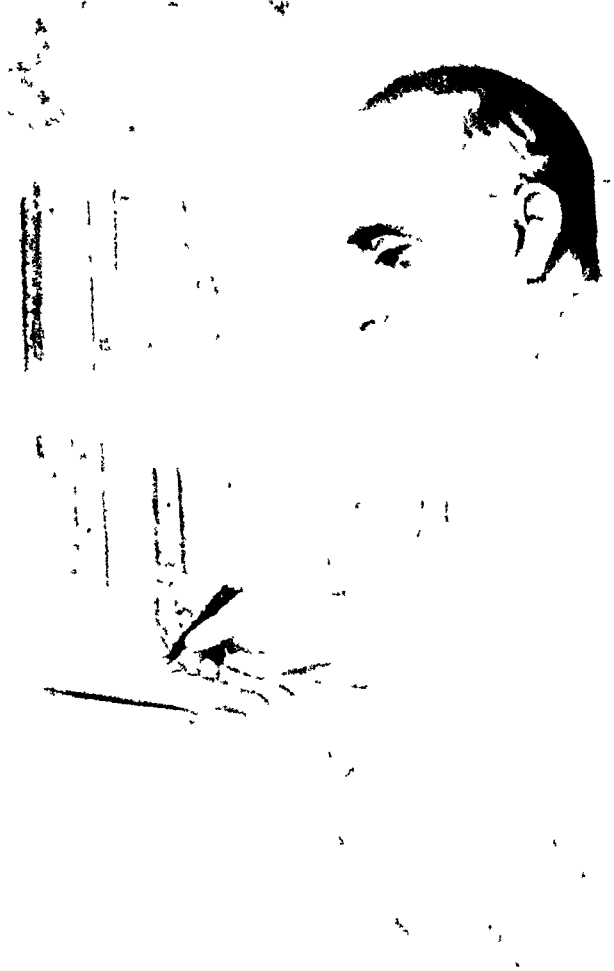
the highest of all ecstasies—the ecstasy of freedom.

This creative mind who is transforming a people and reshaping their tradition is Nehru. Standing in the eternal silence of thought he has given us an ideal in politics. Partaking in the mighty world of selfish passion and interest he has fought with all his lustiness against the cant and cold hypocrisy of powers.

We love Nehru not only for his quick buoyant pose, his grasp of historical reality, his capacity to unmask tyrants, but also for his idealism, which shines with a jewel-like perfection, and brooks no delay.

There is a vital difference between concepts which are sought and concepts which are discovered. Nehru has discovered his concepts in his identification with the mass, nurtured them in his heart and tested them in the crucible of action. He is deeply influenced by western thought but has domiciled it in his clear vision.

He has realised, more acutely than any of his contemporaries, that the degradation of a people is in direct correspondence with aesthetic



*the universal spokes-
man of freedom in terms
of his nation*

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nullity. Then to create a new society means to persuade a community to accept a new set of ideals. A politician who sees life as it is and knows where it is moving is a great realist. Nehru has shown how his rediscovered concepts are growing in battle, in blood and in history.

He is convinced that an individual cannot arrive at the threshold of his potentialities without the conditions which the world outlook provides. That is why, he discerns his ideals in a wide and precious setting—the world background. In every spoken or written word of Nehru there is evidence of a sensitive and discriminating mind. But his critics call him with inverse snobbery "a fashionable internationalist." This is an odd and mistaken judgment ; at best no more than envenomed. No subtle analysis, however, is needed to explain his warm and vivid neighbour-love. Fortunately, Nehru's good sense has survived as fine observation, its refinement as selective taste and its political judgment as an appreciation of values.

Says Prof. Nicolai Hartmann "The essence of neighbour-love is not pity at all nor suffer-

ing, but a feeling, a striving, which approves another person as such." When he is threatened by danger from without or within love goes to the rescue. Love as a basic tendency appeals to Nehru's sense of values. Disposition, will and deed perform the miracle of transmitting the ethos of love from man to man and nation to nation. By this transcending act man can extend the range of his thought, feeling and experience.

3

Internationalism can neither be known nor practised by persons who are deficient in vision and feeling. Some politicians try to supply the deficiency by the frequent repetition of phrases worn-out in the time of Sun Yat Sen, which becomes an irritating trick. We have seen how human nature is poisoned at its source by selfish creeds and barbaric violence. Therefore, we cannot regret the temper of Nehru's mind which is essentially masculine and universal. There is a moral ardour about his political judgment which nobly distinguishes it from the unawakened mind and seared conscience of the present day.

Nehru : Freedom's symbol

Nehru is pure and elevated in principle, scrupulous with everything generous and our feelings are liars when we call him theatrical. In a word, he regards humanism not as a form of escape from freedom, but beyond doubt the most valuable of all allies in the battle for values. He has bent his knee in humanity's shrine and knows no other deity. Conclude we must that Nehru's feeling heart is the only skeleton his detractors have found in his cupboard, and it is hardly a disreputable one.

One radical criticism against Nehru is that he has neither dreamed nor framed a valid international ideal for the country. It is fitting to note that none have set on foot a forward critical movement in our day. Some are making an effort at popularity with their unmeasured scurrility and spontaneous malice. In their hands criticism itself is dying of misuse. When we take breath and ponder over their remarks we may conclude them as symptoms of lunacy. Here is a typical statement of Mr. M. N. Roy :

“Until now Nehru has been acting as the show-boy of the Congress leader- /

ship. His thoughtless socialist profession serves the purpose of deceiving the modern-minded progressive elements, who would otherwise revolt against the reactionary politics and medieval, social and cultural outlook of the Congress Leaders. But a thoughtless, vain, ego-centric, popularity hunting demagogue can become the idol and fully qualified leader of an entirely different kind of movement and the nationalist movement under the banner of the Congress is rapidly developing in that direction. For the moment, Nehru seems to be cast for the role of its leader."

Nehru has placed his trust in the intimations of his soul and its affection. Is it a crime? In a world of crowding doubts he looks with a new awareness, a new apprehension. Is it a crime? If some secret sympathy draws him to admire and to assist nations in tribulation then he has a secret virtue, unique, all his own. His life is attuned to the power that splits the atom and guides the star—the rhythm of history.



With the undecaying charm of his style Nehru has expressed his love for the Chinese people. The atmosphere in China is charged with dynamic forces. Those who cannot understand the intricate counterplay of forces within the Chinese society call its peerless leader "a Grand Fascist."

It is one of the great practical merits of Nehru that he sees in the leadership of the Generalissimo, the promise and the pledge of a better future for China. The promotion of the well-being of a people in quality and quantity is the ultimate test of all political codes and clues. Further, men in mass are incapable of rapid adaptation. A ready-made ideology is not the best of keys in the tangled history of hopes, hates and fears.

What we see on the Chinese stage is the clash between two orders of thought. One thought has taken the Moscow route, while the other embodies the aspirations of centuries. At a certain stage in a people's history the accessible element in society is lured by far-shining creeds, while the inaccessible element seeks within its

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soul an inner harmony of passion and thought. In the hour of China's anxieties, sorrows and distractions a segment of her people moved into the Red Orbit. And nothing perhaps is more admirable than the blending of the dreamy mood and the combative mood in the Chinese character. The first has given her people resolute endurance while the second heroic martyrdom. Only the cheapest optimism can ignore the possibility of a reborn China uprooting all the noxious weeds from her ancient soil.

Communism is no doubt an incantation which touches men to finer issues. Then it should tower above like a virgin peak and keep vigil with the stars of truth, moralism and love. If it has become the abhorrence of sane and serene minds, it is because it feeds upon violence, cataclysms and brutalisation.

We have set our faces against slaughter, intrigue and cant and therefore against communism. We live by the inner light and thus can become greater than we are. We inherit an ancient faith which is the consolation of the human race. Indians can never transfer their alle-

giance to the communist doctrine which takes its stand on the beggarly elements of life.

Try to think of India without her Krishna, Buddha and Gandhi. How impoverished ? These shining immortals appear on the stage of history to support us in the adventure of the soul. We should glory in the thought that we live in the Era of Gandhi, whose smile is worth a billion communist paradises.

4

The heart of India is dedicated to the greatness of the moral spirit, intensity of spiritual energy. It is faith on the grand scale, faith in a moral order, which determines the cosmic meaning of man. In spite of slavery, persecution and want an Indian is moved by idealism and gladly suffers for an idea. It is his self-conquest that has heightened in him the love of the remotest. What appears on the back of his intention is not living-space but esthetic vision ; not power-plan but ethical struggle. Freedom, the whole freedom, and nothing but freedom, is the only truth for him.

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Doctrine and personal example can enable a people to become what they will to become. Our creative minds have set before us the ideal. Our heroic figures have risked all on a single issue. Indians have discovered their own power and bestirred themselves about their historic destiny.

The political unrest has filled the mass mind with images and emotions of every type. Literature which brings the smallest contribution in thought and words to "Guillotomania" is avidly read. Fiery songs are sung and slogans are painted of régimes to be destroyed. The talk of the youth is ruddy with flames and blood and centres round themes of patriotism and heroism. Nehru has lent singular vigour to their concepts and budding concepts. He is the one restraint on the blossoming of their terrorism. For, some revolutionary temperaments consider non-violence as a negation of historicity and activity.

Anarchism fires the imagination of the youth as it works for the freedom of the elemental masses and is bitterly opposed to the despotic power of the state. Armed with bombs, pre-vi-sions and fancies it issues forth in a few sporadic

manifestations. Being essentially communistic and materialistic its ideology becomes a scarecrow. There is also a type of anarchism rooted in religion which considers power as the well-head of evil. This negative side of anarchism which eliminates compulsion in human existence has no decisive historical importance. By making the dignity of man and not the power of the state its symbol, anarchism has become more than a mere seductive delusion. In truth, the conception of human dignity is above all isms and forms an integral part of the philosophy of man.

Schiller warns that the European society would fall to pieces as there is an antagonism between organic freedom and mechanical organisations. Anarchism is a protest against this dark fate. We clearly see how the concrete individual life is extinguished by the absolute state, which is the source of all morality.

Very justly, Nehru with all his changing moods and subdued longings, vexing doubts and tempered passions exhibits a realism which is universally real and transcends every impediment of time. He has provoked a renaissance of

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patriotic feeling and being close to realities has connected patriotism with discipline. For, a nation capable of discipline is capable of freedom.

In a way Nehru is a superrealist. To call him so is not pedantic indiscretion. In him the primacy of feeling is united to a perception of the integrity of a situation. In other words, his moral sense is fused with the reality of politics.

The thought of Nehru grasps the depth and variety of human situations. It urges him to stand in the situation and act creatively in it. This will and disposition to restore moral goods to all peoples emanate from his whole moral make-up. His thought affirms the spiritual potency of his country. In him the powers and impulses of the people, the strength and beauty of their tradition are reembodyed and reflected.

Nehru is the universal spokesman of freedom in terms of his nation. Indian nationalism would have dried up at the roots if its fixed goal were not omni-humanity.

5

A vital point for students of Nehru is that in politics, in economics and in history we find him at the entrance to all paths leading to the future. What dictates his thought and perspective is a radicalism of mind.

Nehru's shaggy critics argue that his political thinking has a theoretical value and therefore cannot be the battle-cry of a people. They point out how he lives in a world of dream which has no national habitation. Given the will to dream, politics can be raised to the creative level. Some inflated guardians of radicalism call Nehru's all-conquering harmony "negativism". Ruskin holds that true passion is the controlled passion :

"It is in the blunt hand and the dead heart, in the diseased habit, in the hardened conscience, that men become vulgar ; they are for ever vulgar, precisely in proportion as they are incapable of sympathy—of quick understanding,—of all that, in deep insistence on the common, but most accurate term, may be called the "tact" or "touchfaculty," of body

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and soul : that tact which the Mimosa has in tress, which the pure woman has above all creatures ; fineness and fullness of sensation, beyond reason : the guide and sanctifier of reason itself. Reason can but determine what is true :— it is the God-given passion of humanity which alone can recognise what God has made good.”

The wretchedly petty critics of Nehru should know that the Gods have bestowed three priceless gifts on him—an element of challenge, a universal sympathy and a radiant inspiration. To him, radicalism is not a pose or a mood, but rather a response to a situation. It rests upon the two fundamental poles : emotionalism and equilibrium.

All the resources of his nature, all his moral and intellectual aspirations are fused in an act of service to the human soul. His personality attests this no less than his philosophy. His creative ego has an inner reason of its own. That is why, it does not express itself in dark and fantastic shapes of nihilism.

If every living tongue utters Nehru's name with pride, it is because his world outlook has captivated all hearts. At a time when there is an ever-growing interest and admiration for the Indian Revolution in foreign countries Nehru's thought and strategy have furnished them a key to a further understanding of the beauty, truth and universality of this ethical struggle.

6

It is high time the rule of a handful of English Sahibs should end in India. Their cannon and supple cunning have cast a deathly shadow over all future co-operation between India and Britain. In the India of 1950 there will be no rudeness in railways, no blackballs in clubs and no leaden sermons in meetings. The situation has now changed fundamentally and to England's ever-growing disaster. There is a load of ominous facts to establish this point.

British should declare India free by passing an Act similar to the one which terminated her sovereignty over America. Any delay in passing this Act is a sabotage of world peace.

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I cannot adequately express my contempt for the assertion that it is the inalienable duty of Britain to safeguard the interests of minorities and princes against the rule of a dominant class. It is argued that the Pro-League Muslims and the Princely Order are determined to be free of the Congress as the Congress is to be free of the British. Every argument for Indian independence is equally cogent for the League's demand for legal nationality.

The League is intransigent and has refused to unite in a common patriotism. Thus it has become a malignant tumour in our body-politic. This intensely Congressphobe body forgets that India has one aim and one ideal, that of a Co-operative Commonwealth, one and indivisible, and is pursuing it with a fire that can burn any incubus, native or foreign.

We proudly admit our differences as differences are latent in a developing society. However, the League's cold sneering and colder hatred of Indian geographical integrity and independence has created an intolerable situation. A rump of incurable reactionaries cannot put the

reverse gear to the car of freedom. The slightest concession to the League's claim for legal nationality is a betrayal of freedom, a betrayal of man.

The episode of the Indian National Army has introduced a new factor into Indian politics. The India of Gandhi is determined to achieve freedom *at any cost*. But some released I. N. A. soldiers and demobilised young men may vow to achieve freedom *by any means*. This danger may not materialise, but even the mere sense of it should make the historical reactionaries pause.

He is a poor patriot who talks of preserving the feudal relics in a free India. The nationalist revival has begun to stir the States people also. Even now the Princes by establishing the democratic process in their States can make it the foundation of a reasonable settlement with the progressive forces. Inevitably, sooner or later, the electoral districts for the Constituent Assembly will be set up cutting across the Indian States. The Princes are in the Cloud-Cuckoo-Land if they think that their States are part-sovereign or protectorates. It must be bluntly told that they en-

joy a degree of competence and the So-called treaties are only a guide to political practice. Furthermore, the treaties may be disregarded when a major crisis threatens the Empire. There is still a chance for the Princes to serve their people first, last and all the time. But the sands are running out and it is improbable they realise it.

It requires no prejudice or partisanship to discover that since two decades the ground-work of Nehru's scale of values has remained unaltered. The eminent Russian thinker Nicolas Berdyaev says that the philosopher is guilty of treason if the basic themes of his thinking are altered. This quality of fidelity to the unchanging, which fundamentally marks the great thinker, is seen in Nehru.

It is fair to say that the dynamic of the spirit has often given rise to contradictions in him. As the political method depends upon perspective, it has created paradoxes in his life and thought. His grudgers easily try to establish his inconsistency by showing how he upholds a pair of opposed ideas at the same moment. They make most play of his declaring Gandhism as a decisive in-

fluence and at the same time breathing sincere regrets about its effectiveness against the aggressor.

The inward motive-forces of his thought put freedom before existence, love before legalism and personality before regimentation. This means every individual is in a profound sense equal before society and has a right to possess dignity of personality. This also means freedom from social prejudices and moral sanctities. Any orthodoxy, Gandhian or Marxist, is a torment to him.

Marxism has influenced his attitude to social reality. Unlike the orthodox Marxists he does not subordinate truth to revolution, personal judgment to party decrees. Gandhi and Nehru have also reacted on each other with kindling power. His personal links with Gandhi have made him feel the power of eternal truths which move the stars.

7

Nehru accepts freedom as a spiritual value and hence it has a self-evident autonomy. There is no inner and necessary dependence of freedom

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upon other lower structural values. The possession of freedom is a condition for the realisation of social and mental goods of every kind. The gravity of the moral crime involved in the destruction of a free life of a community is great. Like truth, beauty and justice freedom is good for its own sake.

The thought of Nehru begins with the foundation principle that freedom is valuable in itself. The notion that freedom depends upon the political maturity of a people is at bottom a psychological prejudice. A common possession of freedom alone can enable a people to negate or to transcend an endless variety of hates and selfishness. Therefore, to base freedom on a lower value unity is to add to the moral confusion of peoples.

Prof. Albert Schweitzer says that ever since the world's remote lands were discovered the white races have produced misery among the coloured peoples by fiery drinks and hideous diseases. He observes :

“We and our civilisation are burdened, really with a great debt. We are

not free to confer benefits on these men or not, as we please ; it is our duty. Anything we give them is not benevolence but atonement. For everyone who scattered injury someone ought to go out to take help, and when we have done all that is in our power, we shall not have atoned for the thousandth part of our guilt."

Nehru has disdain and abhorrence to imperialists and fascists because they are the bearers of moral antivalues. Both have masked motives and unavowed cravings. Both pursue disvalues which are antinomic to freedom. Whoever lives in a fascist or imperialist state cannot do inward justice to life.

A hero of imperialism is a slave to the will-to-power. The imperialistic will is a monstrous perversion of universalism. The imperialist shield is a symbol of the inward tragedy of the spirit. Imperialism with its violence and falsehood puts a nation on the rack.

Those who are blind to social psychology, especially *Massenpsychologie*, bunch up Fascism

and Imperialism. Fascism is a new social fixation. Its technique exploits the lower level of energy of thought in the mass and its sensitiveness to irrational influences. It reshapes the political world at the level of behaviourism. Its propaganda machine is an apparatus of coercion and suggestion. It does not search for persons who are the very mirror of its ideal but penetrates into the hidden mechanisms of the unconscious and creates a pattern.

Fascism is a form of group integration achieved through an appeal to the emotions. It reorganises the disintegrated personalities on a new emotional level. By evoking and crystallising the irrational prejudice and impulse Fascism forges a new will of the people. It forms the first links in the chain of socialism.

The theory of Imperialism presented by the neo-Marxists is that a falling rate of profit in the capitalist countries encourages colonial expansion. This economic penetration takes the form of exporting consumers' goods and exploiting cheap labour. To safeguard its investment and to ward off hostile reaction the colonising

power enslaves the undeveloped country. In the beginning the colony will exchange raw materials for capital goods. The ruling class will do its utmost to retard the industrial growth in the colony. When the colonial door is closed to foreign capital there will be series of economic and political deadlocks. "Coolieism" and strategy of raw materials give rise to monopoly and endemic wars. A group of economic oligarchs manipulate wars when wars pay.

The essential point is that imperial greed has not much to do with Fascist integration. It has been a fad of some writers and politicians to label Imperialism as the elder brother of Fascism. The early coquettings of Fascist leaders with the Soviets and their passion to create a social service state are supreme proofs of the fact that Fascism is a half-way-house to Socialism.

8

Slavery develops in man petty pessimism and moral ingratitude. Only a free man is endowed with personality, which is an abiding thing, active, integral and self-constructive. Personality is re-

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sistance to the enslaving Leviathan and also resistance to the enslaving necessity. Its existence presupposes the rights of life and creativeness. The struggle to achieve political freedom and economic justice becomes the struggle to achieve personality. Personality is all world thought, all world history and all world soul. In making actual his personality man gains new powers to serve his species through fate and freedom; knowledge and love.

It is a signal fact in the present culture-history of the world that reason is found inadequate and truth has lost its promise. In war time there was no room for beauty and rational thought. The total war is over. But the atom bomb has left the world perturbed in soul. Men have lost their old paths of life. In their suffering and perplexity they cannot turn to the accepted faiths for guidance and consolation. They can only look back on the destroyed values with a yearning regret.

There is a search for a total way of living. But there is no attempt to make reason prevail and to awaken the human spirit from the opiate

of slavery. Clearly freedom is wilting in the chaos of the atomic age. It is not Herr Goebbels's morality but the piping of the Big Three, the tangled trinity, that has caused freedom its sleeping sickness. It would be a great mercy if they cease broadcasting their enamelled sentences on freedom.

In the pursuit of freedom alone man can attain ethical maturity. In this sense, conflict is positive and those who are morally narrow shrink from it. It is conflict that transforms a dull and sterile life into a symphony of values. The ethos of openness, of inclusiveness is born of conflict.

To Nehru the highest value of life is a heroic life. The most radiant virtue is the vindication of man. Whoever stands under the spell of his personality will strive for genuine essences and resist moral swindle.

9

According to Nehru, only a change in the structure of man's consciousness can bring about a new world order. The servile philosophies of

imperialism and fascism have crucified truth and distorted the scale of values. Fascism which is seduction and slavery of man is in fetters. Imperialism is now in an advance stage of consumption. However, it is wearing new disguises. The lure of imperialism creates passivity, enfeebles the sense of reality and brings indifference to works of truth and conscience.

Asia is now recovering from this state of swoon. Millions who were swayed by deceptive ideologies are now worshipping at the shrine of freedom. Slavery had led to the loss of self. The revolt of the slaves has produced self-affirmation. Slavery had atrophied their sense of beauty. Their awareness of freedom is creating a world freed from ugliness and necessity. Their tragic suffering is lifting them to a new plane of existence.

Without this background of national misfortune, there is no struggle for values, no autobiography of Nehru, no I.N.A. trials, no victory in freedom.

The rebirth of Asia is therefore a rebirth of the spirit. On the spiritual level the Asiatic has already ceased to be a slave. With the rejection

of the lure of imperialism his inward life has become significant. Fear-anguish is replaced by the ecstasy of the cross. The shackled Asiatic is now emerging into a moment of freedom.

This transition of Asia from slavery to freedom, from disintegration to wholeness, from passivity to creativeness is precipitated by the genius and sacrifice of Nehru. Not dialectic but vision, not half-heartedness but resolution, not sheltered existence but moving forward are the springs of Nehru's power. It explodes the tyrants like an atom bomb and blares through continents like a trumpet.

Nehru has Asia's dreamy face. We see him gazing upward. It is the oppressed nationalities which thus gaze.

Nehru is gazing upon the timeless reality—freedom. It is freedom that can transform the texture of existence. Without it life is accursed and its meaning is turned to ashes in the mouth.

We cannot understand Nehru until we realise that his attitude is dynamic ; his politics, his life and his work are all shaped by this fact. He

exalts and enshrines the principle of personality. Nehru, more than any other single influence, has helped us to know that freedom is the expression of personality. Explicitly he is the herald of the new age of personal dynamism.

Failure to realise freedom now means disintegration and ultimate sterility.

10

Nehru who discredits the succession of historical epochs with the proletarian end and who sees in Gandhism an instrument for civilising the emotions has offered the frame for the picture of world history. His personalist socialism believes in the positive eternal side of democracy which accepts the self-government of man and of nations.

War will be the fated destiny of states so long as they cling to the notion of absolute legal sovereignty. If one accepts the supremacy of the personality over the state, then it spells the end of sovereignty. The sovereign state is the enemy of the rights of man and of definitive peace. The worship of crude brutalities is the outward sym-

*freedom is the expres-
sion of personality*

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bol of sovereignty.

Nehru is a socialist and a revolutionary. His socialism is personalist and his revolutionary strategy is directed not for the gain of a class but of man. While capitalism, nationalism and war is a vicious circle, socialism, humanism and peace is the unvicious circle. As war is anti-personalism, the outlawry of war means a rich flowering of personality. In these days of atomic diplomacy no state is secure in isolation. If the society has a certain spiritual condition, i.e. a willingness to accept a scheme of values then it can trade in butter and not in guns. The humanisation of the state mechanism enables men to resist the lure of greed, slavery and war.

We contemplate the historical process either in terms of pure power-politics or pure humanism. Power-politics is confidently founded on the variously potent science. Humanism is rooted in man's personality and purpose. Power-politics definitely stakes itself on crude emotionalism. Humanism gravitates toward intellectual appeal. It is true that a new humanist order is Utopian. Utopia is something more than curing disorders,

something more concrete than a paradise on paper. Says Oscar Wilde :

“ A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which humanity is always landing. And when humanity lands there it looks out, and seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realisation of Utopia.”

Utopia is the Morning Star that breaks upon a dissolving world with new values and new visions. It springs from the bowels of a spiritual revolution.

The world will be again turned into a huge slaughter-house or fashioned into a mansion of peace. The destiny of societies depends upon a mental revolution which drives men to share not the secrets of the atom bomb but of total living.

Despite all modernist stirring and scepticism the new humanists crave a living faith and its fruits. The humanists see in Gandhism the ultimate faith by reason of its unceasing play of tenderness and critical thought. Writes Ethel

Mannin :

The humanists predict that in a decade either Gandhism will be the reigning force of the world or there will be an endless warfare between perpetual opposites.

The contemporary man should freely choose between a self-seeking life and a life with truth. He should remember that an attitude which overrides the claims of truth and love is profoundly vicious and unethical.

A M E R I C A

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